

DATE
1-3-03

INCOMING CALLS

NAME
Bill Hartow

TIME	NAME	MESSAGE	CALL COMPLETED
7 38		CBS	800
8 39		CBS	890
9 49		CBS	949
10 12		CNN	1012
10 28		WJF	1028
10 38		CBS	1038
11 03		WJF	1103
11 08		For Alex	1112
11 08		Reuters	1130
11 53		WJF	1153
12 35		Reuters	141
13 25		NBC	1325
13 41		NBC	141
14 02		WSJ	230
14 03		Boston Globe	Dom
14 26		CBS	235
14 31		Sallas morning news	237
14 31		LATimes	315
14 50		Peoples Mag	250
15 27		CBS	300
15 27		WP	1527
15 37		WP	307
15 39		NBC	355
15 43	Jim Rosen	NYT	403
16 10		WP	1740
16 04		NBC Pro	408
16 15		WP	1830
16 13		WSJ	1805
16 19		NBC	579
16 19		WP	519
16 23		ATIS	530
16 22		CNN	530
16 20		For	1730
16 25		CBS	525
16 20		NYT	1845
16 31		For Alex	1745
16 36		WP	1736

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ // X1

DECLASSIFIED

William R. Harlow

Office: OPA



04/03/03 06:43 PM

To: John E. McLaughlin@DCI, James L. Pavitt@DO, John H.

Moseman@DCI, Stanley M. Moskowitz@DCI, a CIA officer

cc:

Subject: NYT Question - Iran

CL BY:

CL REASON: 1.5(c)

DECL ON: X1

DRV FROM: COV 1-82

Jim Risen of the NY Times called around 1600 today saying that he was working on a story...not for tomorrow... about what he described as a CIA **classified** program against the Iranian nuclear weapons program.

Risen said the program is or was known as "Merlin." He says there was a Russian scientist who defected to the U.S. who we arranged to give or sell some nuclear weapons designs to the Iranians. The plans, according to Risen, had been modified by the National Labs so that they would either not work or would inject some error in their planning. He says the Russian gave the Iranians the plans at an IAEA mission in Europe.

He went on to say that the plans involved the "fire set" which controls the implosion in the nuclear detonation. He said that he was unsure whether this program is still in operation...but that it started in CY 2000.

I told Risen I would see what *if anything* we had to say to him...and added that any real **classified** program is something that a respectable paper should avoid writing about.

My counterpart got a similar call from Risen. Risen said that he knew that President Clinton had approved the plan...but wanted to know if it had been reapproved by President Bush. They had no immediate comment.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ // X1

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

106

1:10CR485

X00120

DATE
4/4/03

INCOMING CALLS

NAME
Bill Hurlow

TIME	NAME	MESSAGE	CALL COMPLETED
7 24		CBS	724
9 45		NBC	945
10 12		NBC	1012
10 35		CNN	1035
10 37		NBC	1037
10 43		NBC	1043
10 48		WH	1048
10 43	Jim Rosen	NYT	1100
10 41		Newsweek	
11 05		NBC News	1105
11 24		ABC	1140
11 25		WP	1140
11 31		WP	1200
11 31		N4	1150
11 32		CBS	msg 1200
11 41		N4Times	msg 1200
12 01		CBS	1215
12 26		NBC	1226
13 00		N4Times	1400
13 07		For News	1335
13 20		LATimes	1420
13 30		Reuters	msg 1430
14 26		Newsweek	230
2 31		NBC	231
14 44		Newsweek	1444
14 50		CNN	1450
15 40		NY Post	345
3 53		WIS	415
3 53		WP	353
3 40		WP	340
4 14		Newsday	LM 600
4 33	Jim Rosen	NYT	WCJ
5 26		NBC	550
5 27		Reuters	540
5 45		WIS	WCJ
5 46		WP	600
6 00		WH	600

Continued
OUTGOING CALLS

4-4-03

NAME Bill Haylow

[illegible]

DECLASSIFIED~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ // X1**William R. Harlow**

Office: OPA



04/04/03 12:38 PM

To: John E. McLaughlin@DCI, James L. Pavitt@DO, John H. Moseman@DCI, Stanley M. Moskowitz@DCI, a CIA officer

cc:

Subject: NYT Question - Iran UPDATE

CL BY:
CL REASON: 1.5(c)
DECL ON: X1
DRV FROM: COV 1-82

Jim Risen called this morning to ask how I was coming with a response to the story he is working on regarding Iran.

I told him I had no official reaction yet...but that I had spent some thinking about why any responsible journalist would want to write such a story. Told him that assuming any of the facts he had were correct...which I was not confirming...seemed to me that such a story would jeopardize U.S. security in a highly sensitive arena. I added that it is hard to believe that any news organization, this side of Al Jazeera, would publish such an item.

Risen said -- amazingly enough -- that he hadn't really thought about the security implications.

I reminded him of a recent occasion when he came to us with a story he planned to write....and we had Condi Rice call his publisher. The story did not run...although Risen and Howell Raines, his editor, were apparently unhappy that senior officials went around them to get it killed.

I asked how he thought we (the USG) ought to proceed and suggested that I suspect senior officials would be quite willing to let his leadership know of the unwisdom in printing such a story.

Risen said he wanted to think about how he might cast the story...and would call me back this afternoon. My recommendation is that if he comes back to us with plans to publish any story....we ask Dr. Rice to place another call to the Publisher of the Times.

---- Forwarded by William R. Harlow on 04/04/03 12:14 PM ----

CL BY:
CL REASON: 1.5(c)
DECL ON: X1
DRV FROM: COV 1-82**William R. Harlow**

Office: OPA



04/03/03 06:43 PM

To: John E. McLaughlin@DCI, James L. Pavitt@DO, John H. Moseman@DCI, Stanley M. Moskowitz@DCI, a CIA officer @DO

cc:

Subject: NYT Question - Iran

Jim Risen of the NY Times called around 1600 today saying that he was working on a story...not for tomorrow... about what he described as a CIA classified program against the Iranian nuclear weapons program.

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1:10CR485

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Risen said the program is or was known as "Merlin." He says there was a Russian scientist who defected to the U.S. who we arranged to give or sell some nuclear weapons designs to the Iranians. The plans, according to Risen, had been modified by the National Labs so that they would either not work or would inject some error in their planning. He says the Russian gave the Iranians the plans at an IAEA mission in Europe.

He went on to say that the plans involved the "fire set" which controls the implosion in the nuclear detonation. He said that he was unsure whether this program is still in operation...but that it started in CY 2000.

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My counterpart got a similar call from Risen. Risen said that he knew that President Clinton had approved the plan...but wanted to know if it had been reapproved by President Bush. They had no immediate comment.

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X00123

DATE
4/25/03

INCOMING CALLS

NAME
Bill Hauler

TIME	NAME	MESSAGE	CALL COMPLETED
6 40		NBC	146
7 19		CBS	719
7 39		NBC	739
7 51		NBC	751
8 15		AP	815
8 56		NBC CBS	856
9 16		WP	0930
9 44		CNN	1000
10 21		CNN	1030
10 24		Fox	1035
10 30		US News	1030
10 50		Newsweek	1050
10 51		ABC	1055
10 58		AP	1115
11 25		WP	1150
11 35	Jim Rosen	NYT	1155
11 46		Time	1200
11 46		Newsday	1158
12 00		WP	1230
12 29		WP	1237
13 12			1312
13 09		LA Times	1340
14 40		Knight + Rodder	1500
14 43		Boston Globe	1530
14 40		ABC	1500
15 07		ABC	1512
15 17		CBS	1519
15 17	Jim Rosen	NYT	330
3 35		NPR	430
3 36		CBS	430
3 48		Newsweek	440
3 52		AP	513
3 53		NBC	430
4 38		LA Times	
5 31		WP	551
5 58		Newsweek	558
6 16		Newsweek	

REDIFORM FORM NO. 50-111

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT111
1:10CR485

PRINTED IN USA

X00105

Continued
OUTGOING CALLS

NAME Bill Harlan

DATE 4-25-03

[illegible]

X00106

DECLASSIFIED~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ // X1

William R. Harlow
Office: OPA



04/25/03 04:16 PM

CL BY:
CL REASON: 1.5(c)
DECL ON: X1
DRV FROM: COV 5-82

To: John H. Moseman@DCI

cc: two CIA officers

John A. Rizzo@DCI,

two CIA officers

a CIA officer

Moskowitz@DCI,

a CIA officer

James L. Pavitt@DO,

two CIA officers

Robert J. Eatinger@DCI,

Scott W. Muller@DCI, Stanley M.

two CIA officers

Subject: Risen Leak: Second Wave

Just when you thought it was safe:

Jim Risen called at 1530 today and said he wanted to discuss some more the Iran Nuke story.

He said he had considered my earlier cautions that, without confirming or denying what he had, it would be bad for national security to print such a story....but he was still working on it.

Risen proceeded to summarize the draft lead of his story. It went something like this:

The United States has had an ongoing **classified** program to derail the Iranian nuclear weapons program by selling them intentionally flawed nuclear weapons designs.

He then mumbled something about..."according to government documents" and knowledgeable people.

I asked him....if he was telling me that he has documents with some of this stuff...and he said "yes."

Risen went on to say that the story would say that the program was code named "Merlin" and that it involved getting a Russian defector to pretend to be a Russian scientist willing to sell nuclear firing sets to Iran. He says that the deal was eventually made and that this was part of a "larger program" to inject flawed designs into the Iranian program.

I asked him (again without confirming or denying anything) if he had given thought to the wisdom of writing such a story. He said he had.

It was at that point that he said that he had talked to some people who believe that the operation was "not handled properly". He added that he had been told that the Iranians had already been told that the designs there were given were flawed...so his story would not set back our efforts. He said that there were hints that the Iranians might be able to fix the flaws.

I asked him if he had discussed this story with others at his paper...he said yes, with his editors. He told them that we might wish to weigh in before a story appeared. I confirmed that VERY high officials from the USG would undoubtedly want to make strong representations about the lack of wisdom of doing this story.

I urged him to restrict the number of people he talked to about this....and to handle very securely any documents he had...and any documents he created.

Seems to me we need to move quickly with his management before all of Washington and New York are talking about this story.

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Subject: NYT Meeting

The purpose of this LOTUS note is to memorialize a meeting held yesterday, April 30th, at the White House regarding the New York Times leak.

The meeting was convened by the National Security Advisor, Dr. Rice in her office. Also attending were the DCI, ADDO, Anna Perez of the NSC staff, Jill Abramson, the Washington Bureau Chief of the New York Times, reporter Jim Risen and myself. The meeting was held at 1130 and lasted about 15 minutes.

Dr. Rice followed the attached talking points very closely.

When Dr. Rice completed her remarks, Jill Abramson asked for more information on the assertion that printing this story could result in people dying. The DCI spoke, again stressing that this was completely off-the-record, saying that the Russian involved in the program introduced himself to the Iranians

If the Iranians learn that they were misled, this could lead them to retaliate against him.

Risen asked about the issue of whether the Iranians were witting of the program. He implied that he had seen a letter to the Iranians from the Russian which told them that their program was flawed. The DCI said that the individual was suggesting to the Iranians that they needed his services...not telling them that the designs they got from him were flawed.

Abramson said that the Times had "a fully realized draft" of the story...but that they had "not yet" taken the step of asking the Iranians for comment. The implication was that it had been their intention to seek such a comment before publishing. Although the story was in draft, she said that they were not on the verge of publishing it.

Both Abramson and Risen seemed to be impressed by the seriousness of the issue. Neither had many questions or comments.

Anna Perez asked Abramson what she planned to do now.

Abramson said that a decision to not publish would have to be made by her bosses in New York. She said she had a previously scheduled trip to meet with Executive Editor Howell Raines in New York on Monday and would now plan to discuss the issue with him face-to-face then. Similarly, she said that a decision to remove documentation from the Times' computer systems and destroy any documents that were in their possession would have to wait for the meeting with Raines. She said that the number of people aware of the story at the Times was limited. She said it included herself, Raines, Risen and one other reporter (unnamed) in the Washington bureau. She did not address how many people outside of the NYT (Hill staffers, lawyers, former intelligence officers, weapons experts, etc) who have already been questioned by Risen regarding this story.

Abramson said that after her meeting with Raines in New York they would let us know of their decision.

Risen called me twice on other matters later on the same afternoon -- making absolutely no reference to the meeting earlier in the day. I took this to be a hopeful sign of increased awareness of the need for discretion.

RisenTPs.do

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- This meeting is completely OFF-THE-RECORD.
- We've never called a meeting like this before in this Administration-the fact that we have done so may tell you how seriously we view this matter.
- We've asked you to come in for a meeting because this is something which should not be discussed over open telephone lines.
- Jim, someone has inappropriately and incorrectly given you information about one of the most sensitive and important programs this country has.
- I say "inappropriately" because this information in the wrong hands could easily lead to the death of a U.S. citizen...and conceivably contribute to the deaths of millions of innocent victims of a foreign nuclear weapons program.
- I say "incorrectly," because someone has apparently told you that the program was mismanaged and already revealed to the Iranian government. To the best of knowledge of all of us here...that is totally false.
- Preventing working nuclear weapons from falling into the hands of rogue states is one of the most important missions that this, or any other, Administration can have.
- I won't ask you your source, because I know you will not tell me.
- There is no partial answer here. We see no way to write part of this story. If you write it...you endanger lives and national security.
- Asking journalists not to write a story is asking a lot. Now, I am going to ask you more. I am going to ask...in the strongest possible terms...that you not discuss this matter with colleagues and that you not conduct further inquiries around town about it. Each conversation, each call, increases the likelihood that the story will get out...even if you decide to do the right thing and not publish it.
- If you feel the need to discuss this with your seniors in New York. I request that you do so face-to-face. It is much too sensitive for telephone lines.

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Additionally, I ask that the details of the prospective story be immediately purged from your computer systems.

- Jim, I understand that you may have some government documents that impinge upon this story. If that is true, I won't ask that you turn them over to us...but I will ask that you shred every copy-now.
- Let me anticipate a question. You may be wondering, will there be a time when it would be safe for you to write the story. I cannot foresee such a time. Even if Iran turns into a democracy and renounces weapons of mass destruction, the techniques used to hinder their nuclear program could still be useful in preventing other rogue states from endangering us all.
- You have our promise that if we learn of any other news organization plans to publish this story...we will let you know immediately. If any other organization gets this information...we will work as hard to convince them not to publish as we are with you.
- What do you get if you agree not to publish? The comfort of knowing that you haven't contributed to making the world a more dangerous place.

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X00131

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APR 11 2003 2:45PM

NO. B13 P. 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL//X1~~

Original Text of William R. Harlow
Original Text of William R. Harlow

CL BY:
CL REASON: Section 1.6 C
DECL ON: X1
DRV FRM: COV 1-32

6 May 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR: John H. Moseman@DCI

FROM: William R. Harlow @ DCI

OFFICE: OPA

SUBJECT: Risen Leak - Update

REFERENCE:

Anna Perez of the NSC staff called to say that she had just received a voice mail from Jill Abramson, Washington Bureau Chief of the New York Times, saying: "No further discussions were needed" regarding the leak issue and that we had "nothing to worry about."

We take from this message that the Times has decided to do the right thing...not publish any story.

Anna is going to try to reach Abramson to ask what the Times has decided to do about Condi Rice's request that they shred all documents and purge all computer files relating to this matter.

CC: Two CIA officers
John A. Rizzo@DCI

Five CIA officers

Robert J. Eattinger@DCI
A CIA officer
Scott W. Muller@DCI

~~CONFIDENTIAL//X1~~

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GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
115
1:10CR485

X00164